



"To thine own self be true, and it must follow,

as the night the day, thou canst not then be false to any man."

BY ROBERT YOUNG & CO.

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POETRY.

Best of All.

The world has very little I can give, To make us happy, all the precious things: What's more, all precious—and for which they live, To a sad heart are worthless offerings.

POLITICAL.

THE PLATFORM

Of the Democratic National Convention.

The Democratic party, in National Convention assembled, reposing its trust in the intelligence, patriotism and discriminating justice of the people—standing upon the Constitution as the foundation and limitation of the powers of the Government, and the guarantee of the liberties of the citizen, and recognizing the questions of slavery and secession as having been settled, for all time to come, by the war, or the voluntary action of the Southern States, in Constitutional Conventions assembled, and never to be renewed or re-negotiated, do, with the return of peace, demand:

- 1st. Immediate restoration of all the States to their rights in the Union, under the Constitution, and of civil government to the American people.
2d. Amnesty for all past political offenses, and the regulation of the elective franchise in the States by their citizens.
3d. Payment of the public debt of the United States as rapidly as practicable; all moneys drawn from the people by taxation, except so much as is requisite for the necessities of the Government, economically administered, being honestly applied to such payment; and, where the obligations of the Government do not expressly state upon their face, or the law under which they were issued does not provide that they shall be paid in coin, they ought, in right and in justice, be paid in the lawful money of the United States.
4th. Equal taxation of every species of property, according to its real value, including Government bonds and other public securities.
5th. One currency for the Government and the people, the laborer and the office-holder, the pensioner and the soldier, the producer and bond-holder.
6th. Economy in the administration of the Government; the reduction of the standing army and navy; the abolition of the Freedmen's Bureau, and all political instrumentalities designed to secure negro supremacy; simplification of the system and discontinuance of ineffectual modes of assessing and collecting internal revenue, so that the burden of taxation may be equalized and lessened, the credit of the Government and the currency made good; the repeal of all enactments for enrolling the State militia into national forces in time of peace; and a tariff for revenue upon foreign imports, and such equal taxation, under the internal revenue laws, as will afford incidental protection to domestic manufactures, and as will, without impairing the revenue, impose the least burden upon and best promote and encourage the great industrial interests of the country.
7th. Reform of abuses in the administration, the expulsion of corrupt men from office, the abolition of useless offices, the restoration of rightful authority to and the independence of the executive and judiciary departments of the Government, the subordination of the military to the civil power, to the end that the usurpations of Congress and the despotism of the sword may cease.
8th. Equal rights and protection for naturalized and native-born citizens, at home and abroad; the assertion of American nationality which shall command the respect of foreign powers, and furnish an example and encouragement to people struggling for national integrity, constitutional liberty and individual rights; and the maintenance of the rights of naturalized citizens against the absolute doctrine of immutable allegiance and the claims of foreign powers to punish them

for alleged crime committed beyond their jurisdiction.

In demanding these measures and reforms, we arraign the radical party for its disregard of right, and the unparalleled oppression and tyranny which have marked its career. After the most solemn and unanimous pledge of both Houses of Congress to prosecute the war exclusively for the maintenance of the Government and the preservation of the Union, under the Constitution, it has repeatedly violated that most sacred pledge, under which alone was rallied that noble volunteer army, which carried our flag to victory.

Instead of restoring the Union, it has, so far as is in its power, dissolved it, and subjected ten States, in times of profound peace, to military despotism and negro supremacy.

It has nullified there the right of trial by jury; it has abolished the habeas corpus, that most sacred writ of liberty; it has overthrown the freedom of speech and press; it has substituted arbitrary seizures and arrests, and military trials and secret star-chamber inquisitions for the constitutional tribunals; it has disregarded, in time of peace, the right of the people to be free from searches and seizures; it has entered the post and telegraph offices, and even the private rooms of individuals, and sized their private papers and letters, without any specific charge or notice of affidavit, as required by the organic law; it has converted the American Capitol into a bastille; it has established a system of spies and official espionage to which no constitutional monarchy of Europe would now dare resort; it has abolished the right of appeal on important constitutional questions to the supreme judicial tribunals, and threatens to curtail or destroy its original jurisdiction, which is irrevocably vested by the Constitution, which the learned Chief Justice has been subjected to the most atrocious calumnies, merely because he would not prostitute his high office to the support of the false and partisan charges preferred against the President. Its corruption and extravagance have exceeded anything known in history, and by its frauds and monopolies it has nearly doubled the burden of the debt created by the war. It has stripped the President of his constitutional power of appointment even of his own Cabinet. Under its repeated assaults, the pillars of the Government are rocking on their base, and should it succeed in November next, and inaugurate its President we will meet, as a subjected and conquered people, amid the ruins of liberty and the scattered fragments of the Constitution, and we do declare and resolve that, even since the people of the United States threw off all subjection to the British crown, the privilege and trust of suffrage have belonged to the several States, and have been granted, regulated and controlled exclusively by the political power of each State respectively, and that any attempt by Congress, on any pretext whatever, to deprive any State of this right, or to interfere with its exercise, is a flagrant usurpation of power which can find no warrant in the Constitution; and, if sanctioned by the people, will subvert our form of Government, and can only end in a single centralized and consolidated Government, in which the separate existence of the State will be entirely absorbed, and an unqualified despotism be established in place of a Federal Union of co-equal States; and that we regard the reconstruction Acts (so-called) of Congress as such an usurpation, and unconstitutional, revolutionary, and void; that our soldiers and sailors, who carried the flag of our country to victory against a most gallant and determined foe, must ever be gratefully remembered, and all the guarantees given in their favor must be faithfully carried into execution.

That the public lands should be distributed as widely as possible among the people, and should be disposed of either under the pro-emption of homestead lands, and sold in reasonable quantities, and to none but actual occupants, at the minimum price established by the Government. When grants of the public lands may be allowed, necessary for the encouragement of important public improvements, the proceeds of the sale of such lands, and not the lands themselves, should be so applied.

That the President of the United States, Andrew Johnson, in exercising the power of his high office in resisting the aggressions of Congress upon the constitutional rights of the States and the people, is entitled to the gratitude of the whole American people, and in behalf of the Democratic party, we tender him our thanks for his patriotic efforts in this regard.

Upon this platform, the Democratic party appeal to every patriot, including all the conservative element and all who desire to support the Constitution and restore the Union, forgetting all past differences of opinion, to unite with us in the present great struggle

for the liberties of the people; and that to all such, to whatever party they may have heretofore belonged, we extend the right hand of fellowship, and hail all such co-operating with us as friends and brethren.

The Political Campaign—Radical Prospects North and South.

All the advices received here recently from the South, represent carpet-bagism as on its death-bed. With the exception of Florida and South Carolina, all the Southern States are conceded as certain to go for Seymour and Blair. The radical organization in the reconstructed regions are dwindling away rapidly, and defection has reached their very stronghold with such alarming results, that the carpet-bag heroes see nothing but ruin ahead. They have discovered their great weakness in the very spot where they looked for an impenetrable tower of strength. The negroes, whom they relied upon as their right arm of power, have become disgusted, and proclaim that the white radical is a greater enemy to them than the white rebels who were lately their masters. The most intelligent blacks, therefore, have determined to join hands with their old masters, and thus drive away the carpet-bag adventurers from the South to their native element. This repudiation of radicalism by the colored citizens is overwhelming the Republican leaders of the South, and consequently they are beginning to realize that they have been caught in their own trap.

Several staid Republicans who have just returned from different parts of the South admit that Sambo has turned the tables upon them completely, and now their only hope of success is in the North. This last hope seems not to have a very firm hold of them either, judging by the manner in which they write to their friends in this city. The correspondence sent here from different States in the East and West, by radical stumpers and managers, is of the most desponding character. They admit that Pennsylvania, Indiana and Ohio are lost to Grant and Colfax beyond redemption, and one of them declares that Illinois will go the same way, unless the strongest efforts are made to save it. Logan's defeat as Congressman at large from the State is spoken of as certain, but the electoral ticket is urged, may be carried by clever engineering. The most sanguine Republican I have seen here from Colfax's State, only figures up a Republican majority of 3,000 in Indiana. This Republican is one of the most staid and influential politicians in the State of Indiana. In fact, the impression is very general here now that Seymour and Blair will be elected by a very decisive majority, not on account of any great popularity of their own, but because the people of the country are determined to have a change anyhow. [Wash. Cor. N. Y. Herald.]

Be Cautious, in Word and Act.

If there is one counsel which, during the next ninety days, should be impressed with more frequency and more force than all others upon the Southern people, it is this: Be cautious, in word and act!

We entertain the most sanguine hopes that the approaching election will result in a decisive triumph for the friends of liberty and law, and a restoration of the Government to its ancient foundations, now so far removed. And, while in the advancement of that most desirable issue, little is afforded us to do, it is unfortunately true that we may do much to impede, or, at least, retard it. In that regard, the near past riots before us with the most solemn warnings.

It is by no means certain, that the people of the North would not have sustained the President in the fall elections of 1866, defeated Congressional radicalism, and anticipated by two long years, the glorious victory on which we count in November; but two unfortunate circumstances conspired to thwart the retreating steps of those people, and to dash back the tide of returning reason and magnanimity which promised such happy results for the general prosperity of the republic. One of these was the extreme imprudence of certain of the public utterances of the President, but the far more fatally effective obstacles was the riot in New Orleans!

It is no exaggeration, to say that melancholy occurrence turned the scale in fifty doubtful Congressional Districts, and thereby secured that two-thirds vote in the House which is accountable for all the enormities of the most profligate legislation that ever ensued a people with even the traditions of freedom. Thus was lost, for two years, the chance of peace; thus was gained military despotism, carpet-bag Constitutions, negro supremacy, the tenure of office bill, and all the multifarious enormities which disgraced the last session of the Thirty-ninth Congress and the first session of its successor.

Again an election approaches in which the very legends of 1866 are to be passed upon once more. The country is called on in the light of the practical experience of two bitter

and fateful years to review its former decision, and hear the great appeal of liberty and the Constitution. The circumstances of this trial are all in our favor. Congress has marked each passing month of those intervening years with a new outrage upon us, and a new argument, therefore, in our favor. Reconstruction, in its every development, has startled the public ear with some new violation of law, private right and public liberty. The ultimate purposes of radicalism, shadowing forth the entire subversion of the constitutional rights of States and people, have been fully revealed. The utter and abandoned profligacy of Congressional government has been laid bare to all eyes. The thorough failures of reconstruction to accomplish anything but the gaudiest mockery of freedom, is sorrowfully admitted even by Republicans themselves. The waves of war had further and full chance for perfect subsiding, and finally, the conservative men of the country have now had abundant time to rally from the terror which the despotism inaugurated by Lincoln so widely spread; they are wondering that so basely an idol could ever have been thought a god, and are hesitating to compensate for their supineness hitherto, by unwonted diligence and determined effort now.

In this most fortunate juncture of our affairs, our triumph of the Constitution can scarcely be jeopardized, save by ourselves, certainly by no party and no agency can it be so much jeopardized as by ourselves. It is vaguely whispered, and the recent disturbances in this city, at the Federal Capital, at Atlanta, at Charleston and elsewhere, give grave countenance to the rumor, that instructions have been issued from certain radical leaders in Washington, that conflicts with the negroes must, at all hazards, be provoked at the South between this and election day. This is precisely what every one acquainted with radicalism must have anticipated. Half that Congress so easily accomplished would have been as easily accomplished, as well North as South, had not the passions of the Northern people been excited by the systematic lying of radical press respecting "Southern outrages." And they have too often profited by this game to slight its assistance now. It is not important to them what may be the origin, or what the character of the victims, of those disturbances. A party which could make a hero out of Ashburn, a saint out of John Brown, and a martyr out of Dostie, and could find an odor of sanctity in a negro brothel, cannot be very scrupulous about the quality of the material with which they propose to work.

Let us be careful, then, to avoid even the appearance of violence. If a disturbance arise, let it be manifest that the conservatives were the aggrieved party, and that the consequences, whatever they may be, properly attached to our enemies, and we will baffle this last and most favored resort of radicalism. And to that end, it is equally desirable that, while denouncing with whatever severity of language the deeds and designs of our enemies, our speakers and writers should do nothing towards inciting a breach of the peace and thereby inviting the many and irremediable evils that must certainly ensue. [Richmond Examiner and Inquirer.]

The Status of the Negro.

In asserting that "this is a white man's government," (says the New Orleans Times,) the white people of the country by no means forshadow injustice to the negro. They know and rejoice that the old institution of African slavery is at an end. To revive it would be a step which none but the insane would dare take. Being free, the negro is as much entitled as his white neighbor to the safeguards of the laws. He must be protected in his person, his property, and all his material rights; and for his infractions of law he must be punished in the same manner as the white man is. In all other matters he must recognize the prejudices of immemorial custom and tradition, and accept such a position as he can work out for himself. He must remember also that though freedom is a word of superlative significance, yet those who call themselves free are not always free.

In this world of error and corruption there are many kinds and degrees of slavery, and that of physical subjection to a master, though humiliating and unpleasant, is by no means the most galling and degrading.

England for a third of a century has filled the world with the delusive boast that whenever a slave touched her soil his shackles fell off forthwith, and our Government, since the close of the war, has taken up the cry and echoed it with all the Pharisaical vigor of fervor, unthinking fanaticism. Let England turn her eye to the slavery in her factories and mines, and the worse than heathen ignorance with which it is associated, and say, if she dare, that her people are all free! Even among those who are independent, as far as the mere necessities of life are concerned, there

are thousands, nay, millions, who are under the grossest bondage to their vices—a bondage infinitely more corrupting than one of more servitude. And what may be said of England, in this regard, is almost equally applicable to America. The negro who has been freed from the bonds of physical servitude, is, in nine cases out of ten, less free than he was before his emancipation was declared. His habits have become worse; his health is not so good, his wants are not so well provided for, and beyond all else, he has become the slave to selfish and corrupt party demagogues, who make him the instrument of plunder, and, as far as possible, the shield of their own corruption.

Now in the present canvass the white Conservatives of the South, who are the neighbors and must be the employers of the negroes when the rule of the carpet-baggers end—as and it must within a very limited period—have endeavored to convince the negroes that to them they must look for their true enfranchisement—for the ratification of every privilege beyond equal protection to life and property. In the North, where the Radicals have been in power, they have not extended to the few negroes who reside among them the privilege of impartial suffrage; if they have given it in the South, it was an act of fraud, intended merely to serve their own base ends.

We will not pretend to say that the white people of the South are very much better than the white people of the North, but they certainly are more reliable than the carpet-baggers, and the immunities which they grant the negroes will be forever granted. The course which the Southern whites are to adopt toward the blacks must be an honest one. No people or party can with impunity sacrifice honesty for the purpose of securing a political victory. Let the negroes understand that the whites are empowered by the late Radical amendment to the Constitution of the United States to restrict negro suffrage, and the extent to which that provision will be carried, will be determined by the balance of the colored people during the existing canvass, or up to the time when the white people will again have control of their own affairs, and enjoy to the full their rights of self-government.

It is probable that there will be restrictions on suffrage, but if so, they will be framed in a spirit of sound statesmanship, and will be enforced without distinction of color. White and black men who commit grave offenses, and are sent to the penitentiary will not be permitted to vote, and possibly other equally wise restrictions will be framed on other points affecting the public weal. Wherever negro rule has been attempted, it has proved a failure, and in a country such as this, where the blacks are in so hopeless a minority, negro rule is impossible. Let the blacks then, as well as the whites, accept the situation. It is useless to cling to delusive hopes and contend against the inevitable. The white man will be the ruler in this land, and the negro will gain a hundred-fold more by an honest conciliatory course than he can ever extort in any other manner.

Reasons for Being a Democrat.

1. Because I believe that "The powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution, nor prohibiting by it to the States, are reserved to the States respectively or to the people." (Cons. Amend. Art. X.) But Congress has imposed negro suffrage, which belongs to the States. (Chicago Platform, section 8.) on Nebraska and the States of the South.

2. Because I believe that "No person shall be convicted of treason unless on the testimony of two witnesses;" (Cons. 3, sec. 3, 1.) and "The trials of all crimes, except in cases of impeachment, shall be by jury;" (Art. 3, sec. 2, 3.) and "No bill of attainder, no ex post facto law, shall be passed." (Art. 1, sec. 9.) But Congress has declared men traitors, and punished them as such, without the testimony of any witness; has imprisoned citizens, and refused them a trial, and has enacted laws to punish past acts.

3. Because I believe that "No State shall make anything but gold and silver coin a tender in payment of debts." (Art. 1, sec. 10.) But Jacobin Legislatures made greenbacks, worth only 40 cents on the dollar at the time, a legal tender.

4. Because I believe that the free expression of opinion at the polls is an essential right of a freeman. But Congress has declared that none shall vote who cannot swear that they believe in the social and political equality of the negro. (Test oath of Arkansas.)

5. Because I believe that the rich man should pay taxes as well as the poor man. But Congress, by exempting the bonds, has enabled the rich to throw the burden of taxation on the poor.

6. Because I believe if greenbacks are good enough to pay the soldier who lent his blood to his country, they are good enough to

pay the stay-at-home, who only lent his money.

7. Because I believe that the laboring man at the North should not be obliged, after freeing the negro, to maintain him in idleness; he should work for his living, or, if unable to work, be supported by the State in which he lives. But Congress, through the Freedmen's bureau, does keep him idle that he may vote the Jacobin ticket.

8. Because I believe that if the expenses of government, during the eight years prior to 1861, were only \$193,000,000, (\$2,000,000 a year) we should not have spent \$137,000,000 from June 1st, 1867, to June 1st, 1868—a year of profound peace. (N. Y. Tribune, 20th July.)

9. Because I believe that a Jacobin Congress, with a two-third majority, is responsible for the evils which afflict the country, and not the right of executing the laws they made.

10. Because I believe that Horatio Seymour, who saved New York city from the rioters, (Mayor O'Connell in Constitutional Convention,) Pennsylvania from the rebels, (Stanton, Lincoln, Forney,) and whose statesmanship has too long been acknowledged to be disputed, is a more reliable man to govern the country than Grant "who knows nothing of politics," (Wade,) "who is a drunkard," (Tilton,) "who cannot stand up before a glass of whiskey, and is as brainless as his saddle," (Wendell Phillips,) who never held a civil office, who was dismissed from the army, (War Dep. under Buchanan,) "who can only talk horse and dogs." (Wade.)

11. Because I believe that power centered at Washington will be a sure lead to despotism in America, as power centered at Paris does in France.

12. Because I believe that it is highly immoral and dangerous to continue in authority a political party which casts out of their organization such a man as Chase, Trumbull, Doolittle, etc., while it acknowledges as leaders such men as Gov. Brown of Andersonville Prison, Brooks, Blair, Stanton, Calicut, Pillsbury, McKim, etc.

For these reasons, and many others "too numerous to mention," I will this fall vote the Democratic ticket. Let all thinking men who love American liberty more than party success, do the same. Posterity will bless them.

A FREEMAN.

UTICA, Aug. 12th 1878.

RIGHT.—The following is one of the Resolutions unanimously adopted by the Wake County Democratic Convention, on the 8th inst:

Resolved, That W. W. Holden, "who writes himself Governor of North Carolina," having declared in his inaugural address that, "Every office and employment in the State, from the most inferior to the most exalted, must be filled by the friends of Reconstruction and of the new Constitution," thus proscribing, for opinion's sake alone, the only class of our citizens who are either worthy the confidence of the people or capable of an enlightened and patriotic administration of the government, sincerely deprecating the proscription which drives us to the necessity, as a defensive measure, of doing so, and with no unkind feelings towards those who must suffer the consequences of the conduct of those whom they have unfortunately placed in power, we hereby pledge ourselves, in the future, to aid, encourage, employ and patronize Democrats and Conservatives, in preference to all others, and to protect and defend each other in the exercise and enjoyment of all our constitutional and legal rights.

SELF HELP.—How futile often are our endeavors to secure a happy, prosperous, or independent future for those we leave behind us. In fact, it often seems that extreme caution in this regard, defeats itself. The best legacy to children is Self Help; bank stock is nothing to it. That may take wings; but the energy to which disaster is only an incentive to effort, that is of itself a fortune. We look with tender eyes upon those we love, and sigh to think we may, perchance, not be on the shore when they launch their little boats, forgetting Him who holds the winds in His hands and regards the fall of the sparrow. Said a good mother, once, in reply to such anxious fears, "I have got beyond that. If I should be taken away from my children before their maturity, very likely some one who will see faults to which I should have been blind, will do for them far better than I should. I have thought it all out—and can trust Him."

Every Democrat would be delighted to see Blair and Colfax make a speaking canvass together. Blair is willing, but Colfax is weak. They once had an encounter in Congress. Blair pulverized Colfax between his thumb and forefinger, and could, upon a pinch, have taken him as pinch of snuff. But his nose didn't hanker after such an article.—Louisville Journal